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# Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 AID-05 ACDA-07
DHA-02 EB-07 TRSE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /097 W
----------095173 080148Z /75
O P 080015Z JUL 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4378
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2172

GENEVA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, US, SF, WA
SUBJECT: MCHENRY MEETS WITH SWAPO UN REP

REFS: (A) USUN 2133; (B) LIBREVILLE 1673; (C) STATE 145067;
(D) LUSAKA 1772; (E) PRETORIA 3312.

1. ON BEHALF OF AND AT REQUEST OF WESTERN FIVE CONTACT GROUP,
AMB MCHENRY MET AM JULY 6 WITH SWAPO UN REP THEO-BEN GURIRAB.
CORDIAL, HOUR-LONG MEETING WAS ALSO ATTENDED BY DEPUTY
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ASSISTANT SECRETARY HELMAN AND USUN POL COUNSELLOR PETREE.

2. AT BEGINNING OF MEETING MCHENRY PRESENTED TO GURIRAB
OFFICIAL COPY OF LETTER (CONTAINED REF A) FROM WESTERN FIVE
TO SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA INVITING NUJOMA AND SWAPO
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO MEET WITH FIVE IN NEW YORK
BEGINNING JULY 11. INVITATION HAD BEEN MADE ORALLY

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JUNE 25. BEN GURIRAB EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR INVITA-
TION AND INDICATED THAT ONLY PROBLEM WITH PROPOSED MEETING
IS THE DATE. HE FURTHER STATED THAT
HE HAD NO IDEA WHAT DATE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO SWAPO
BUT LATER IN CONVERSATION IMPLIED THAT JULY 18 WOULD BE
MORE APPROPRIATE. SWAPO APPARENTLY WANTS TIME PRIOR TO
ANY MEETING WITH CONTACT GROUP TO CONSULT AMONG THEM-
SELVES AND TO HAVE MEETING OF SWAPO EXECUTIVE. BEN
GURIRAB SAID THAT NO DATE HAS YET BEEN SET FOR MEETING
OF EXECUTIVE.

3. IN PRESENTING INVITATION, MCHENRY REPONDED TO
SWAPO REQUEST (REF B) FOR AGENDA OF PROPOSED MEETING.
HE SAID THAT CONTACT GROUP HAS GREAT DIFFICULTY WITH
IDEA OF AGENDA BECAUSE WE DON'T WANT TO LIMIT DISCUSSION
AND BECAUSE WE DON'T WANT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN SERIES
OF DISCUSSIONS ON CONTENT OF AGENDA. RATHER WE WISH
PROPOSED MEETING TO CONSIST OF THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF
FULL RANGE OF ISSUES. MCHENRY FURTHER RESPONDED TO
EARLIER SWAPO REQUEST (REF C) FOR WRITTEN, IN ADDITION TO
ORAL, BRIEFING ON CAPE TOWN TALKS. MCHENRY INDICATED
THAT IN ALL OF THE CONTACT GROUP'S TALKS WITH SOUTH
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT NOT ONE PIECE OF PAPER HAS BEEN
PASSED -- NOT EVEN WRITTEN INVITATIONS. FURTHERMORE,
IN BRIEFINGS WE HAVE TRIED NOT TO PASS ANY PAPER. PAPER
PUTS IDEAS IN CONCRETE AND THUS INHIBITS FLEXIBLE
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DISCUSSION. MCHENRY CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT ALL
PEOPLE ARE BEING TOLD THE SAME THING IN BRIEFINGS.
ALL ARE BRIEFED FROM THE SAME NOTES. HISTORICALLY,
WRITTEN STATEMENTS HAVE CAUSED PROBLEMS IN NAMIBIA, AND
CONTACT GROUP DOES NOT WANT THOSE PROBLEMS TO OCCUR
AGAIN. MCHENRY FURTHER EMPHASIZED THAT, IN DISCUSSIONS
WITH SAG, CONTACT GROUP HAS ONLY BEEN EXPLORING, NOT
NEGOTIATING, AND THAT WE HAVE NOT AGREED TO ANYTHING.
CERTAINLY IT WILL BE NECESSARY AT SOME TIME TO PUT
EVERYTHING DOWN IN CONCRETE, BUT NOT YET.

4. IN CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION OF INVITATION, MCHENRY
EMPHASIZED URGENCY OF MEETING BETWEEN SWAPO AND FIVE.
MOMENTUM HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN EFFORTS TOWARD A SOLUTION
IN NAMIBIA, AND MOMENTUM MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO DIE.
ANY DELAY IN FURTHER TALKS WILL PLAY INTO HANDS OF SAG.
CONTACT GROUP DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE IMPRESSION OF
UNFAIRLY RUSHING EVENTS, BUT WE NOW HAVE OUR BEST OPPOR-
TUNITY TO ACHIEVE SOLUTION, AND WE DON'T WANT THAT
OPPORTUNITY TO PASS US BY.

5. IN CONCLUDING DISCUSSION OF INVITATION, MCHENRY

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BROUGHT UP QUESTION ORIGINALLY RAISED BY SWAPO VICE PRESIDENT MUYONGO JUNE 23 (REF D), OF WHETHER CONTACT GROUP WOULD BE WILLING TO ASSIST TWO SWAPO REPRESENTATIVES RESIDING IN NAMIBIA IN TEMPORARILY LEAVING NAMIBIA IN ORDER TO ATTEND NEW YORK MEETING. MCHENRY INDICATED THAT CONTACT GROUP IS PERFECTLY WILLING TO ASSIST IN THIS MATTER, BUT NOT UNTIL DATE OF MEETING IS SET AND NOT UNTIL WE ARE TOLD WHO THOSE TWO SWAPO REPS ARE. WHEN CONTACT GROUP IS GIVEN THIS INFORMATION, WE WILL THEN APPROACH SAG SAYING THAT WE ASSUME THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEM ARRANGING FOR THESE TWO PERSONS TO ATTEND MEETING. IN RESPONSE, BEN GURIRAB SIMPLY STATED THAT THIS MATTER IS VERY MUCH A CONCERN TO SWAPO.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2172

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6. MCHENRY THEN TURNED ATTENTION TO NEED TO ENCOURAGE SYG WALDHEIM TO GO AHEAD WITH CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR UN INVOLVEMENT IN NAMIBIA. HELMAN FURTHER EMPHASIZED

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THAT SUCH PLANNING IS LONG OVERDUE AND MUST BE STARTED
IMMEDIATELY. WHEN BEN GURIRAB ASKED WHAT SPECIFICALLY
SYG SHOULD BE ASKED TO DO, MCHENRY
REPLIED THAT SYG MUST DETERMINE OPTIONS AND REQUIREMENTS
FOR CARRYING OUT UN ROLE OF SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF
FREE ELECTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 385.
MCHENRY INDICATED THAT, BECAUSE OF WALDHEIM'S RECENT CON-
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VERSATION WITH NUJOMA, BECAUSE OF RECENT SWAPO LETTER
TO WESTERN FIVE, AND BECAUSE OF POSITION TAKEN BY OAU
AT LIBREVILLE ON WESTERN FIVE EFFORTS, WALDHIEM MAY NOW
BE MORE WILLING TO BEGIN CONTINGENCY PLANNING. BUT
WALDHEIM WAS INITIALLY RELUCTANT TO TAKE ANY ACTION
WITHOUT SOME ENCOURAGEMENT FROM SWAPO. GURIRAB THEN
ASKED UNDER WHAT MANDATE SYG WOULD START TO MOBILIZE UN
MACHINERY. MCHENRY RESPONDED THAT SYG
COULD NOT MOBILIZE MACHINERY WITHOUT MANDATE, BUT THAT
HE COULD START CONTINGENCY PLANNING WITHOUT ONE. SYG
MUST NOT WAIT UNTIL HE GETS MANDATE TO BEGIN THINKING
ABOUT UN INVOLVEMENT IN NAMIBIA. MCHENRY FURTHER ADDED
THAT SAG SIDE OF TRANSMITIONAL AUTHORITY IS NOW FAIRLY
SPECIFIC (IN TERMS OF ROLE OF ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL,
ETC.); HOWEVER, UN SIDE IS VAGUE. IF UN WERE TO BEGIN
CONSIDERING ITS ROLE IN MORE DETAIL, IT WOULD HELP ALL
PARTIES TO UNDERSTAND MORE CLEARLY HOW TWO SIDES WOULD
BALANCE EACH OTHER. GURIRAB REPLIED THAT SUCH PLANNING
COULD GIVE IMPRESSION THAT WESTERN FIVE WERE IMPOSING THEIR
OWN VIEW ON UN. HE FURTHER STATED THAT SWAPO IS CONCERNED
THAT IT NOT LOOK LIKE STOOGE FOR WEST AS SOME WERE ALREADY SAYING.
MCHENRY REPLIED THAT WESTERN FIVE ORIGINALLY TOOK INITIATIVE IN
NAMIBIA ONLY AFTER INFORMAL URGING FROM AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED
MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL. SWAPO WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER
THOSE WHO URGED SWAPO TO BE INTRANSIGENT HAD SWAPO'S BEST
INTERST IN MIND.

7. AS CONVERSATION DREW TO CLOSE, GURIRAB AGAIN SAID
THAT SWAPO NEEDED TIME TO CONSIDER EVERYTHING. MCHENRY
THEN STATED THAT SAG IS HOPING SWAPO WILL DRAG ITS FEET.
SAG IS HOPING THAT SWAPO WILL REJECT WHOLE BASIS FOR
NAMIBIA DISCUSSIONS AND IS DISCOURAGED THAT SWAPO HAS NOT
DONE SO ALREADY. IT WAS THEN THAT GURIRAB SAID THAT HE
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DID NOT SEE HOW SWAPO COULD BE BLAMED FOR DELAYING TALKS
WITH CONTACT GROUP BY FIVE DAYS OR A WEEK (THUS INDICATING

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POSSIBLE JULY 18 DATE FOR TALKS). GURIRAB ALSO STATED
THAT SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA WAS ON WAY TO LUSAKA AND
THAT SWAPO WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH CONTACT GROUP.

8. IN CONCLUSION, HELMAN REEMPHASIZED URGENCY OF FINDING
SOLUTION TO NAMIBIA PROBLEM AND OF ESTABLISHING NAMIBIA'S
INDEPENDENCE, AND HE OFFERED US ASSISTANCE WITH COMMUNICA-
TIONS, IF NEEDED AT ANY TIME. MCHENRY ALSO INDICATED THAT
WESTERN FIVE EMBASSIES IN LUSAKA ARE FULLY INFORMED AND
CAN BE USED AS CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATIONS.

9. COMMENT: UNTIL NOW, MISSION HAS NOT RECOMMENDED THAT
THE ASSISTANCE OF THE FRONT-LINE STATES BE SOLICITED IN
BRINGING SWAPO TO RESPOND FAVORABLY AND PROMPTLY TO THE
CONTACT GROUP'S INVITATION. WE HAVE FELT THAT TO DO SO
COULD IRRITATE BOTH THE FRONT-LINE STATES AND SWAPO,
ESPECIALLY AS OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH SWAPO OFFICIALS
HAVE REVEALED SWAPO'S RECEPTIVENESS TO NEW YORK TALKS
AND LIKELIHOOD OF ACCEPTANCE OF INVITATION. WE WOULD
APPRECIATE, NEVERTHELESS, EMBASSY COMMENTS ON THIS
IMPRESSION, AND ESPECIALLY ON WHETHER THE FRONT-
LINE STATES, IN ADDITION TO BEING INFORMED OF THE
CONTACT GROUP'S APPROACH TO NUJOMA, SHOULD BE ENLISTED
IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE SWAPO TO COME TO NEW YORK FOR
TALKS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN
YOUR COMMENTS IN LIGHT OF CABLE JUST RECEIVED (AM JULY 7)
WHICH STATES THAT SAG HAS ANNOUNCED APPOINTMENT OF
ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL (REF E). END COMMENT.
LEONARD

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# Message Attributes

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**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
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**Drafter:** n/a
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**Expiration:**
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**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
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**Reference:** 77 USUN NEW YORK 2133, 77 LIBREVILLE 1673, 77 STATE 145067, 77 LUSAKA 1772, 77 PRETORIA 3312
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**SAS ID:** 1915202
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** MCHENRY MEETS WITH SWAPO UN REP
**TAGS:** PFOR, PDEV, US, SF, WA, FR, GE, UK, CA, SWAPO, (GURIRAB, THEO-BEN)
**To:** STATE
**Type:** TE
**vdkvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/02988a6e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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